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SUBJ: BRAZILIAN FONMIN OFFICIAL ON BRAZILIAN RELATIONS WITH
U.S. AND LATIN AMERICA

SUMMARY.

RUBENS RICUPERO PRESENTED A PAPER MARCH 2 BEFORE VENEZUELAN FOREIGN MINISTRY'S INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEALING WITH BRAZILIAN RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND LATIN AMERICA. RICUPERO DESCRIBED THE CHANGING FOCUS OF BRAZILIAN ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC TIES AFTER THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, AND THE GROWING INFLUENCE OF THE U.S. POLITICAL EQUALITY OF STATES AND NON-INTERVENTION HE NOTED AS BASIC TO BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY, AND THE BASIS FOR LATER DIVERGENCE WITH THE U.S. OVER THE ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

DESPITE THE RECENT "DIVERSIFICATION" OF BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY, I.E. INITIATIVES IN AFRICA, ASIA AND EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN TIES WITH EUROPE, THE U.S.-BRAZILIAN RELATIONSHIP REMAINS PARAMOUNT. HE ASSERTED MAJOR QUESTIONS NOW CONFRONTING U.S.-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS ARE REPLACING HUMAN RIGHTS AND BRAZIL-FRG NUCLEAR DEAL. ECONOMIC ISSUES. WITH REGARD TO LATIN AMERICA, HE DESCRIBED BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY AS BASED ON EQUALITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT IN ITS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS. INDICATIVE, HAVE BEEN EFFORTS TO UNDERTAKE JOINT EXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES FOR
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MUTUAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

END SUMMARY:

1. RUBENS RICUPERO OF THE BRAZILIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ON MARCH 2 DELIVERED A PAPER ON "BRAZILIAN RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND LATIN AMERICA" BEFORE THE VENEZUELA FOREIGN MINISTRY'S NEWLY ESTABLISHED

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. BRAZILIAN EMBASSY MADE A SPECIAL INVITATION TO INSURE PRESENCE OF U.S. EMBOFFS.

2. IN DESCRIBING THE HISTORY OF U.S.-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS, RICUPERO PRESENTED STANDARD INTERPERETATION, DESCRIBING THE CHANGING FOCUS OF BRAZILIAN ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC TIES AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, AS THE U.S. REPLACED U.K. AND EUROPE AS THE PRIMARY ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC INFLUENCE. THE GROWTH OF TIES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND BRAZIL, HE DESCRIBED AS BUILT "ON THE SOLID BASIS OF CONVERG-

ING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS" HE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WAS A DIVERGENCE EARLY ON, THE DISARRANGEMENT AT THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE HAGUE OVER THE POLITICAL ISSUE OF EQUALITY OF STATES.

3. BASIS TO ITS FOREIGN POLICY, BRAZIL'S EMPHASIS ON POLITICAL EQUALITY OF STATES AND NON-INTERVENTION HAS BEEN AT THE HEART OF SUBSEQUENT DIVERGENCES WITH THE U.S. OVER HUMAN RIGHTS AND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION, I.E. NUCLEAR ENERGY IS NOT THE EXCLUSIVE PROPERTY OR MANDATE OF THE SUPERPOWERS. HOWEVER, RICUPERO POINTED OUT THAT THE MAJOR CHARACTERISTIC IN THE EVOLUTION OF BRAZILIAN-U.S. RELATIONS HAS BEEN THAT DIFFICULTIES AND STRAINS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN RESOLVED THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND CONCILIATION. DESPITE THE PREPONDERANT ECONOMIC ROLE OF THE U.S. IN BRAZIL'S DEVELOPMENT, ITS FOREIGN POLICY HAS NOT BEEN TIED TO THAT OF THE U.S. IN THE COURSE OF BRAZILIAN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL MATURATION, THE U.S. ROLE AND IN-
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FLUENCE HAS "NATURALLY DECLINED." PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE VIETNAM EXPERIENCE OF THE U.S. AND THE GROWING GLOBAL ROLE OF CHINA, JAPAN AND GERMANY, BRAZIL'S FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN MARKED BY AN INCREASING DIVERSIFICATION OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS. THIS DIVERSIFICATION HAS RESULTED IN RECENT BRAZILIAN INITIATIEVES IN AFRICA AND ASIA AS WELL AS CURRENT EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN TIES WITH WESTERN EUROPE.

4. DESPITE THE "DIVERSIFICATION" OF BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY, THE MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING SIGNED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER AND FOMIN SILVIERA IN 1976 CONFIRMS THE CONTINUED PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S.-BRAZILIAN RELATIONSHIP AND IS INDICATIVE OF THE MATURE RELATIONSHIP NOW EXISTING BTEWEEN THE TWO. THE MEMORANDUM, HE SAID, DOES NOT GUARANTEE A RELATIONSHIP WITHOUT DIFFICULTIES, BUT PROVIDES A MECHANISM FOR DISCUSSION AND NEGOTIATION OF PROBLEMS BEFORE THEY BECOME CRISES. RICUPERO MAINTAINED THAT ECONOMIC QUESTIONS HAVE NOW REPLACED HUMAN RIGHTS AND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION AS THE MAJOR PROBLEM IN U.S.-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS.

5. ACCORDING TO RICUPERO, BRAZIL'S RELATIONS WITH ITS LATIN AMERICA NEIGHBORS HAVE FOCUSSED ON THE PROBLEMS AND EFFORTS TO DEFINE BORDERS. THE FACT THAT NONE OF BRAZIL'S BORDERS HAVE BEEN

ESTABLISHED BY ARMED FORCE ARGUES AGAINST THE RECENT ACCUSATIONS OF BRAZILIAN EXPANSIONISM. RATHER, EQUALITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT IN BRAZIL'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS ARE THE BASIS OF BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLITY IN LATIN AMERICA. IN PART, THIS POLICY STEMS FROM THE FACT THAT BRAZIL AND THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA HAVE BEEN PLACED AT A DISADVANTAGE IN THE TRADITIONAL NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONSHIP, A RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS ALSO HAMPERED THE GROWTH OF ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BRAZIL AND THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA. ITS LATIN AMERICAN POLICY HAS THUS SOUGHT TO IDENTIFY AND CREATE AREAS OF COLLABORATION WITH ITS NEIGHBORS FOR JOINT EXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

6. EMBASSY POUCHING TEXT OF RICUPERO'S REMARKS IN SPANISH TO DEPARTMENT AND BRASILIA.
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